562
156 (riak khwan). Theirs was an augmented personal potency[55] in nurture not unlike the mana so widespread in the Asian-Pacific area.[56] The best midwives were liang di, though not all liang
[159] di were midwives. This societal peak was not an unattainable ideal. In the community, certain women were pointed out as liang di and some of them recognized in themselves the validity of this title.

562 The association of rice, motherhood, and khwan now stands
774 clear. Rice made suk by cooking over a fire, was the essential
776 food not only for the body but for the khwan. Growth and life
262 depended on the nourished khwan. Rice came from a maternal figure, the Rice Goddess, Mae Phosop (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1963). Human mothers, too, when made suk, gave suk nourishment: the milk of the breast was merely transformed rice. Whenever rice was eaten throughout human adulthood, the Rice Mother continued her nourishment, for in each grain was a bit of her khwan, nourishing to the human khwan. The rice-bowl and ladle, used in many a ceremony, stood for the maternal care given a human
[782] khwan, and by extension, personal care throughout life. Whenever the rice bowl with offerings (khwan khao: soul-[of]-rice) was presented by a parturient or by a sick person, loving care comparable to maternal care was being requested.

182 The idea of re-birth, of a fresh start within the pure
885 area encircled by the holy cord, with auspicious words and
846 consecrated fire, was deep in every life-cycle rite. The
562 particular circumstance of the fire of parturition was a
372 forthright cooking to bring out and increase a woman's essential femaleness, to transform her from a youthful, partial giver into a complete, mature donor of nourishment. Such was the satisfaction of women in this female role that many said they would like to be reborn as women. Few wanted

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55. Anuman Rajadhon (p. 134) reports that in India a newborn girl needed no ritual paraphernalia to keep away spirits because "her sex...is a protection in itself, and spirits cannot come to bother her." This was close to Bang Chan's idea of female potency.

56. Cf. "Mana" (E.R.E. VIII:375) for a quick run-down on a definition of mana.

182 885 846 562 372

to be reborn as men. All women were eager to undergo the post-partum fire at least once. After that modifications might be entertained.[87] Whether the baby lived or died was not pertinent, for the benefits of the fire were for the mother.

Comparison of Male and Female Maturation Rites

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The parallel ritual that fitted men to perform their masculine role was ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. The well-documented Buddhist ends should not be permitted to eclipse this other personal goal. Just as the fire prepared a woman for motherhood, so ordination changed an immature youth into a man ready for marriage and fatherhood. He too was transformed from raw (dib) to ripe (suk). Men gained compassion through denial and suffering. Since their natures were seen as hard (khaeng), strong, bent on gain, influence, and power, possibly destructive and concupiscent, the severest deprivations were invoked: the renouncement of the gratifications of sex and food. Of the 2, the deprivation of food involved the greatest break with previous habits, for since babyhood, food had been a symbol of maternal care. Hence, a man was cast on his own. His only refuge and support was the Buddha, the law, and the Brotherhood. This self-denial induced the suffering that, coupled with knowledge gained from study of the scriptures, led to compassion. The suffering in no way

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87. The fire-rest though desirable was not obligatory. In 1865, Bradley said it could be "dispensed with in times of civil commotion, for fear of the enemy" and "no damages whatever were suffered whatever to mother or child" (p.79). Like other life cycle rites it was postponed if not convenient (nadwk). Also in times of peace, "a few mothers here and there cannot lie by the fire," and a few say, "they will not" (ibid:p.79). Bang Chan would accept this viewpoint freely as reflecting an individual, constitutional set of elements, or as an autonomous decision of an individual. The woman would never feel herself as competent as a ritually mature person though.

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The medium's powers as a mǭ appeared to be entirely equivalent to a man's.

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To summarize, the fire-rest enabled a woman to acquire fruitful habits, new status, and the right to handle magic. The implications of the ritual clarified the role of women and the associated symbolism of rice, and by contrast the role of men. The nature of the magical resources available to each sex laid the groundwork for a career in midwifery for women, and for men, a career as a mǭ.

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Comparison of the respective rites of maturation points up certain contrasts and parallels between men and women. Women achieved compassion and maturity through their sexual role, while men achieved these qualities by denying their masculinity. Even a bounty of merit, which a man achieved directly by ordination, came to a woman through procreation, by the ordination of a son, or as a wife if her husband were ordained. Many activities were done by either sex, but each had certain exclusive proprietary areas. If women were donors of nourishment, men too had their donor roles, sexual, economic, religious, etc. Each paralleled the other in the formal steps to maturity, building the way for a complementary social and marital partnership for which both were ritually and psychologically well prepared.[62]

62. In contrast, note the psychological ill-preparedness, leading to severe tensions in Ceylon (Oberesekere, passim).

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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the village to find dependent relatives—siblings, cousins, nephews, nieces— 596
who, unable to make a go of it elsewhere, are accepted into a relative's
family, sometimes to the extent of eventually taking over the headship of
the family. Sometimes, on the initiative and invitation of an elderly or
lonely relative, an entire nuclear family will be asked to take over or share a
household. Children of poor or "inconvenienced" families (where a new 596
child is born before the first is weaned, where there are too many children 597
for the mother to handle comfortably, where a youngster is simply being
"troublesome") are adopted or "borrowed" by other villagers for varying
periods of time. This is done preferably by relatives, sometimes by neigh-
bors, and often, in the case of boys, by the monastery, where the children
become hand-servants to the monks and are supposed to absorb, by a kind
of osmotic process, righteous ways of behaving. (Of my three male life
history informants, two were given over to relatives at the ages of two, the
third at the age of eight; one spent his childhood with four different
families, another with five families; one describes his adolescence as "wan-
dering from place to place." The psychological implications of such dis-
placement should not be underestimated.) On occasion, two independent 596
nuclear families—almost always connected by some kinship tie—will join [594]
together for convenience to share cooking facilities, in which case they
effectively become a single extended family. And in some cases, although
rare, one will encounter adult children living in independent households
but handing over their income to a parent, living in still another home, who
disburses the proceeds when necessary.

On the other side, it is common practice in Bang Chan now for a 596
husband to be away for four or five months at a time earning money in 591
Bangkok, or during the dry season on a vegetable farm, returning home to [464]
visit his wife and children whenever opportunity permits, with or without
funds. The wife may still maintain their household, but often returns to 596
live with her own parents.[7] In a similar vein, although obviously more 586
extreme, it is not unusual to find families in Bang Chan which have simply 182
"disintegrated," as the villagers say. Much depends here on the circum-
stances of family members. Bang Chaners usually reserve the term "dis-
integrated" for families that no longer have the economic wherewithal or
justification for staying together as functioning units. In these instances,
family members simply go their separate ways, if possible back to their
families of orientation or to other relatives, husbands perhaps into the
monkhood, and the children to whomever will take them. Most frequently, [578]
"disintegration" is characteristic of very poor families, and in the minds of

[7] This pattern may be related to the old *corvée* labor pattern when able-bodied [466]
village men were away from their families for extended periods of time. [651]
[174]

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
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the villagers is contrasted with those cases of separation or divorce which are viewed as resulting more from social psychological reasons: arguments, contrariness, general incompatability, and wasting or not sharing money. The squandering of money is a most frequent cause of family discord contributing to family dissolution, especially when it involves the three aphoristic evils of Thai life: women, whiskey, and opium (although, in fact, I know of only two cases where Bang Chaners have been reputed to smoke opium).

Precise figures on the divorce or separation rate in Bang Chan are unknown, primarily because many marriages as well as divorces are never registered on the government rolls; also, many separations seem to follow an on-again-off-again pattern; the sanctioned occurrence of polygyny (only eight known cases out of the 296 families) and even polyandry (two known cases) complicates the problem even further. However, the fact that *four* months after I had designated a sample of thirty families from which to select informants, six of those families, or 20 percent of the sample population, had dissolved would strongly suggest that Bang Chan families are not particularly stable.

The causes of family fission in these specific cases are unknown, but what is impressive is the apparent ease with which it takes place and the equanimity with which people seem to accept it. Other informants, reporting their own experiences or observations, discuss family breakups as if they were among the more normal events of the workaday world and completely understandable. They seem to be of no greater emotional import—in the sense of eliciting recognizable feelings of distress—than losing a good price on the sale of a piece of land or on the sale of some rice. In fact, the latter kinds of situations are considerably more likely to evoke expressions of hurt or exasperation. One repeatedly encounters in Bang Chan instances on the following order: a family breaks up simply because the husband has an inclination to work for a particular person whom he likes; a wife ("she is a touchy woman") runs away every time she has a minor disagreement with her husband (minor even by village standards, for example, "Should I buy my lottery tickets from Mr. X or Mr. Y?"; "Should we invite seven monks or ten monks to officiate at this ceremony?"). The point here is that these explanations—and the low tolerance for discord, the importance to a person of a boss or job over a spouse, the desire to be footloose, which they imply—are to the villagers completely reasonable justifications for the dissolution of family units.

Many of the family relationships referred to above as "centripetal" in nature are clearly related to or derived from patterns of social organization characteristic of an earlier Bang Chan. Although most evidence indicates that even in the years immediately following the settlement of the village in

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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recognition of the incongruity being portrayed; to have to explicate the way the familiar has been violated is to miss the whole point. Yet the very problem with which the anthropological investigator is characteristically faced is his unfamiliarity with the culturally implicit. His major intellectual task in fact is to make explicit that which is implicitly held by his informants. The only way to deal with this paradox is either to consider humor a special case of anthropological investigation, leave the content alone, and focus principally on forms and functions, or do a humorless exegesis and be prepared for disappointments. As indicated earlier, this writer greatly prefers the former alternative.

Why the frequency and value of the humor should be so different is difficult to say. That the villagers devote considerably more time to this mode of play and place considerably higher value on it than do most Occidentals is clear, especially from the pejorative comments of Westerners who are so disturbed by it. One possible reason may be the simple lack (compared to Occidentals) of time-consuming, functional tasks in the village; that is, given the villagers' definitions of things that have to be done during the cycle of daily activity, there is just more time available to them to be "frittered away" in amusing conversation. However, this negative explanation is at best only a partial solution since many people who have "little to do" manage to make busy work for themselves (in a diagnostic, not deprecating, sense); also, granted the fact that Bang Chaners have time to talk of many things, it does not explain why such a large portion of this time should be given over to humor. Another possible reason was indicated earlier: comedy provides an outlet for certain feelings that otherwise are denied direct expression or are a source of anxiety in the culture. The higher frequency of humor is a function of the degree of prohibition or anxiety, which in the case of some feelings—aggression, for example—is very high indeed. Since, as has probably been detected, much of the villagers' humor does revolve around aggressive situations, there is clearly some cogency to this approach. There is a third possible reason for the villagers' greater concern with humor. Humor, with its emphasis on the exaggerated, the incongruous, and unpredictable is, from a psychological point of view, essentially a form of new experience. In fact, it, and the real life situations to which it refers, are "invention" in the purest meaning of the terms: the breaking through of tried and established patterns of expectation. But people in different cultures look for their new experience, or express their inventiveness, in different ways. There is no inherent necessity (a consideration often overlooked by scholars concerned with culture change) for inventiveness to be expressed primarily through technological, economic, or sociological forms. It might well be, as Keesing has suggested (1960), that in many cultures the favoured modes for expressing the

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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521 522 • 182 innovative impulses are recreative or aesthetic, either in content or form. Simply stated, the reason Bang Chaners may spend more time than Westerners in telling amusing stories to each other is because they feel they are gaining something new and worthwhile from the experience.

Politeness: A Social Cosmetic

57 It has been previously noted that the villagers' ubiquitous politeness appears in several different forms: sometimes it is associated with a genial interest in others or a concern over their welfare and comfort; at other times it is used as a means of handling one's anxiety over the intentions of others or one's uncertainty over the nature and purpose of the relationship; and at other times, it is used as a means of impressing others or getting in their good graces. The term "social cosmetic" is used here because it embraces at one time all these varying usages. A cosmetic not only makes one appear more attractive and conceals one's blemishes, real or imagined, but permits one to deal with others more easily and comfortably. The last consideration is in part a direct consequence of the first two, that is, a person who feels he is attractive to others will in all likelihood be more relaxed in his relationships with them. However, it is probably also a product of the conventionalized, relatively explicit interactional "frame" [13] that the very wearing of the cosmetic creates. The cosmetic indicates that regardless of his basic intentions, the person will conduct himself properly and agreeably; it defines the presence of and prompts conformity to certain behavioral rituals which simplify for the participants the kinds of behavior they may express. In a sense, the cosmetic of politeness represents one of the most "civilized" modes of social interaction: it is based on a fundamental concern with structuring one's behavior (again, irrespective of intentions) so as least to disturb others and thus permit them to act in socially easy, uncomplicated ways. Further, it stresses respect for the dignity and psychological integrity of others. The actual topic of conversation or non-verbal ritual that links the participating individuals together may be either meaningful or inconsequential, but that is essentially irrelevant when compared to the fact that the respect the participants feel for each other is being communicated. In

[13] This term is somewhat akin to what Goffman (1959: 22–24), in his attempt to analyze behavior in a dramaturgical framework, calls the "setting" or the "scenic aspects" of the interactional situation. However, Goffman's terms refer explicitly to the physical layout—the furniture, decor, and the like—of the behavioral situation rather than to the psychological "setting" that is created by the behavior of the participating individuals. On the other hand, his term, "personal front," refers exclusively to the attributes of individuals, rather than to the situational definitions that they create. The term "frame" used here refers to the psychological setting which is created by the behavior of individuals and which defines for all participants the nature of the situation.

121 I recall seeing portable motors stored in some Bang Chan houses and
[243] can still picture many threshing floors with neatly layered heaps
[244] of rice straw where the mushrooms grew. A few of these apparently "progressive" farmers had special ponds to which they proudly invited me to watch the feeding of the tilapia fish. Occasionally one of them seized the opportunity of my visit to inquire about sending a sick kinsman to a Bangkok hospital. Without Dr. Goldsen's analysis I might easily have been lured to generalise that certain farmers were "innovation minded."

*177 The survey's evidence against a general "innovation mindedness"
*178 cautioned me to reconsider my impressions. I realised that it would
121 be an oversimplification of the social network in Bang Chan to
621 think of it as containing a group of "progressives" who sought avidly each new agricultural wrinkle and who pitted themselves against another group of "conservatives" who resisted change. Instead I was led to see some farmers interested in certain new things, others indifferent to these but interested in other things. Bang Chan looked more like a mosaic of small groups, each fitting or rejecting the new according to its circumstance.

*177 Instead of thinking simply of a group of highly motivated,
*178 wealthy farmers who assumed the responsibility of trying out the
243 new for the benefit of their less affluent neighbors, I was
244 alerted to recognise a variety of kinds of innovation. Innovation in growing rice, where one might employ a motor or fertilisor, differed considerably from earning extra cash during the dry season by growing mushrooms. The analysis of the survey evidence made me sensitive to the realisation that mushroom culture was clearly a seasonal activity requiring little investment and open to any family, rich or poor, that needed cash. Certainly no genuine rice farmer would permit this extra work to interfere when the rains called time for ploughing. The finding that no correlation existed between acceptance of motors and growing mushrooms seemed in retrospect clear, almost self-evident.

*177 The survey analysis indicating that owning a motor, despite
*182 my initial impressions, bears no relation to use of modern medical
244 facilities, made me reexamine my initial impressions. My own
757 studies had made me aware that making a living is a positive action among Bang Chan farmers: it requires forethought and will. Health, however, for Bang Chan is a kind of negative entity to be taken for granted until sickness arrives. Bang Chan has no vitamin pills nor tonics to maintain health, though all work actively to relieve sickness. Growing mushrooms and using modern medical facilities are phenomenally different undertakings. Certainly the survey analysis in this regard bore out and corroborated this "thematic" analysis.

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TABLE 1. THOSE WHO OWN OR USE SMALL MOTOR ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO TRY OTHER AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS (FARMERS ONLY)

	Owns motor	Does not own motor but uses it	Neither owns nor has used motor
(Total cases)*	(70)	(150)	(106)
Have you ever used fertilizer?**			
Yes	18%	16%	3%
No	82	84	97
Have you ever raised tilapia?			
Yes	53%	29%	22%
No	47	71	78
Have you ever grown mushrooms?			
Yes	40%	49%	37%
No	52	51	66

* The bases on which per cents are computed appear in parenthesis at the head of each column in this and subsequent tables. Actually the bases vary by a few cases, table to table, since there were always a few respondents who did not answer a given question or whose answers were unclassifiable.

[125]

** Asked of farmers only. The bases are:

Owns motor	65
Does not own motor but uses it	141
Neither owns nor has used motor	82
NA	5

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There is some evidence, then, that if a person is willing to try out one agricultural device, such as the motor, he is more likely to try out other agricultural innovations. However, this "clustering" cannot support the hypothesis that there is something like "innovation mindedness" in general, or that acceptance of any innovation in a series is predictive of acceptance of all other innovations in the same series.

Evidence may be cited to substantiate this contention. In the first place, if such a clustering indeed prevailed, one would expect users of any of these agricultural innovations to be more disposed than others to use, as well, certain non-agricultural innovations, such as hospital or clinic facilities, for example.

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228 And no such tendency may be discerned in the present data. (See Table 2.)
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244 TABLE 2. USERS OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC FACILITIES SHOW NO SIGNIFI-
743 CANT DIFFERENCES IN RATES OF ACCEPTANCE OF AGRICULTURAL
• 182 INNOVATIONS

Agricultural Innovations	Percentage who have ever gone to hospital or clinic for treatment	Total cases
Mushrooms		
Tried them out	36%	(143)
Never did	38	(108)
Tilapia		
Tried it out	44%	(104)
Never did	34.	(225)
Motor		
Tried it out	37%	(215)
Never did	36	(104)
Fertiliser*		
Tried it out	37%	(32)
Never did	34	(232)

* Farmers only

228 In the second place: use of the motor is much less strongly
241 linked to use of mushrooms than the use of fertiliser or tilapia.
244 It may well be that there may be some common factor strongly underlying the decision to use the motor on the one hand, fertiliser and tilapia on the other, while the decision to try mushroom-growing is relatively more "autonomous". A possible explanation for the
402 greater "autonomy" may be sought in the differential requirements
*197 for growing mushrooms compared with the requirements for adopting
*178 the other innovations.

Both tilapia and sulphates demand extra heavy work, care, an essential initial investment, and willingness to wait for a delayed return. An additional requirement for a successful and continuous pay-off from both these innovations may be an aptitude to follow rather complicated instructions. In the case of mushroom growing, however, the initial investment is relatively small, the labor may be tedious but is not heavy, no protracted or complicated care is involved, and the results of the effort are relatively quickly realizable.

*243 parcels by siblings who failed to include their share in
423 those parcels in the reporting of areas owned. For want
427 of a proper basis for adjustment, we chose to let the figures
*128 stand as they were reported.

Table 19 shows that the combined area in rice of all the 216 farms in Bangchan was 6,638 rai, or almost 99 per cent of total area planted to rice by the residents, the balance of 84 rai being worked on by residents whose occupations were those other than farm operating. Of these 216 farms, 48 were classified as all owned, 88 part owned, and 80 all rented.

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184 The conventional system of classifying farms accord-
423 ing to land tenure into all owned (owner-operator), part-
554 owned (part-owner), and all rented (tenant) should not be
427 used without modification as a classification of economic
*128 or social status in population pressure areas where an efficient size farm is usually an exception rather than a rule. In these areas, it does not hold, as it seems to imply, that an owner-operator has a superior economic status than a part-owner and that a part-owner is still in a better eco-
[434] nomic position than a tenant. There is a wide range in size of farm operation and hence of incomes within these categories.

Within the category of owner-operator, there are major differences in size of operation and hence economic and social status. If a farmer -- to cite a specific case, Farmer A in BC4 -- owns the large area of rice of 235 rai,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133a]

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he may rent out some and retain only the part he can operate well. In this case he chose to operate 65 rai in 1953, renting out the balance of 170 rai. On the other hand, another farmer -- Farmer B, also in BC4 -- who owns only a small parcel of nine rai may not be able to rent in additional land to make an efficient size farm. In this case, B was not able to rent in any land and had to work on only nine rai of his own in 1953. In an area of relatively low population pressure, the probability of failure to rent in some more land may be small, but it is not so small in the relatively high population pressure areas such as Bangchan. The difference between farmers owning a small area of land and a large area is so great from the standpoint of economics and social position as to warrant having two sub-divisions of the conventional "owner-operators".

Small "owner-operators" may increase their size of operation by renting in some more land and thus becoming part-owners. These farmers actually improve their socio-economic status if they are able to move from the group of owner-operators into the group of part-owners. To use another concrete example, Farmer B, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, who worked on the nine-rai parcel of his own, does not earn more farm income than Farmer C, also in BC4, who owned 20 rai and still rented in 30 more rai in order that his four family workers including himself might be fully employed with a 50-rai farm.

178 in this zone has since been considered as residential land
423 although there has not been any apparent change in land
435 utilization.

178 It should be noted in this connection that during
423 the same period of 1948-53 there has been a steady rise in
435 the price of residential land in Bangkok at a highly varying rate depending upon location. For the purpose of our discussion, we may consider only the price of land in the northern suburb of Bangkok, on each side of Paholyotin Road (the popular Bangkok-Donmuang Road) which branches off at Kilometer 20 into Minburi Road which cuts across Bangchan Canal at Kilometer 13 (Crossing of Paholyotin and Minburi Roads as Km.0). It has been observed that the price of land on each side of Paholyotin Road has been increasing rapidly: a parcel at Km. 11 which was valued at 50,000 baht per rai in 1952, for example, was sold at 150,000 baht per rai in 1954. It has also been observed that price of land in this section of the Bangkok suburb declines with the distance from Bangkok proper: the 1954 price was 150,000 per rai at Km. 11, and 50,000 baht per rai at Km. 20 where the Minburi Road begins. If the Minburi Road is considered as a continuation of Paholyotin Road, it is only natural that the price of land would gradually decline to 12,000 baht per rai at Km. 13.

182 It is conceivable that the recent increase in Bangkok
423 population is one among several factors causing the rapid
435 rise of residential land prices. When the rapidity of the
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182 423 435 369 rate of increase in land price is considered, however, it is reasonable to believe that population increase is certainly not the only factor.

[121] It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the price of urban land. Neither the problem of land utilization nor the whole economy of Bangchan can be clearly understood, however, without some account of the rapid building up of urban land prices in recent years. It is thus necessary to digress at this point into some factors accountable for this rapid rise.

369 454 423 435 178 182 It has been observed that the volume of domestic saving in Thailand is small because of the low level of income, and that such saving as does take place tends to be put into real estate and gold and jewelry. Concentration of income resulting from the postwar phenomenon of shifting of political and economic power into the hands of few people, however, has somewhat increased the proportion of saving; but this is again used largely to purchase real estate. The natural result is the boosting up of urban land prices especially in the suburban sections where there has been a relatively high degree of improvement in road construction since the war.

423 45 178 369 182 This investment in land purchase has more than ever before assumed a speculative nature. This is largely due to the experience of inflation initiated by World War II whereby huge and easy profits could be made from buying and selling of land. Corruption in the sale and purchase

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

423 of government real estates has no doubt increased these
45 speculative activities. The process has also been greatly
178 accelerated by an enormous increase since the war of banking
369 facilities, which traditionally extend loans on mortgage of
182 real estate. It should be noted in this connection that the demand for loans in Bangkok has been so great as to allow most commercial banks to adopt a highly discriminating policy of extending loans only to their favored customers who are often willing to give as much as five per cent of the loan sought to bank officials as a customary "tea-money".

182 A third factor is that some organized financial
423 institutions have actively been engaged in deliberate at-
435 tempts to boost up land prices for their own speculative
455 gains. This was the immediate cause of the rise of land
178 price in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai in 1948 to 12,000 baht
369 per rai in 1953. According to several informants in Bangchan, a representative of an insurance company in Bangkok came to the village in 1952 and offered to buy land on each side of Minburi Road at 10,000 baht per rai. This man was able to buy 20 rai of land at Km. 8, Minburi Road, which is in the immediate neighborhood of our arbitrary Bangchan Village, at his offered price of 10,000 baht per rai. At the time of the signing of the purchase contract, he made a 10 per cent down payment of 20,000 baht. Although the balance of 180,000 baht was not paid and the contract was later forfeited, the proposed purchase immediately pushed land prices in Zone 1 up to 10,000 baht per rai or over. According to

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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423 our informants, the insurance company owned hundreds of
435 rai of land in the vicinity. By spending only 20,000 baht
456 in boosting up land prices, the company thus set the stage
178 for making a large profit through sale of their own land
369 at inflated prices.

178 While the increase in land prices in Zone 1 was
423 attributable to the sudden assumption of residential land
435 prices, this explanation does not apply to the increases in land prices in the other zones which have remained agricultural throughout. Although less spectacular than the case of Zone 1, the rise in land prices in these six zones was also quite abrupt, averaging 560 per cent for the five-year period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

423 Capitalized valuation of these farm lands (Zones
434 2-7) may shed some light on the situation, although there
427 is limitation especially to the cost concept. There are two ways by which a capitalized value of farm lands may be obtai (1) by capitalizing income from the farm operation left afte payment of all factor costs except land, and (2) by capitalizing income deriving from explicit rent of the land.

243 Receipt from one rai of rice land in 1948 may be cal-
435 culated from the crop of 32.1 tang at 252 baht, using that
434 year's average farm price of 7.86 baht per tang of paddy.
423 When the cost, including an imputed return to all labor but
427 excluding rent, of 166 baht per rai is deducted, a residual return to land of 86 baht per rai is obtained for the year.[15]

15. For want of sufficient data, it is assumed that the cost items other than rent remain the same.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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Table 30 shows that the size of the sample has continuously decreased from 104 in 1948 to 103 in 1949, 98 in 1950, 96 in 1951, 96 in 1952, and finally 87 in 1953.[1] It should be noted, however, that we re-visited the village in 1952 and that most of our materials on business and living aspects of the farms were gathered from the sample-farms existing in that year; hence we occasionally referred to the sample of 96 continuing farms.

One way of minimizing the problem of declining size of the sample is to include in the sample new farm operating families which have branched out from the original sample-families. It was found that there were ten such families when we re-visited the village to continue the study in 1952. If this method were adopted, it would mean that the size of our sample would then be 106 farms, a figure which does not differ very much from the original size of 104 farms in 1948.

Another way of solving the problem is to abolish the continuing operator approach entirely in favor of the re-sampling approach -- that is, a fixed sample size is chosen and new sampling is done every time a new survey is to be conducted. This approach, however, has the drawback that

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[243] [178] [433] [463] [182] 1. According to Table 14, crop indices were as low as 86.8 for 1949, and 87.5 for 1952; while those for 1948, 1950 and 1951 were 111.4, 111.1 and 102.7 respectively. It is worth noting that a relatively large number of farm operators changed their occupation (or moved out of the village) in 1950 and 1953. When Table 14 is studied together with Table 30, it is seen that there is a close correlation between change in occupation (or change of farming place) and crop failure in the preceding year.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

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125 it would deny any benefit that would arise out of continuous observation of each farm and farm operator through a series of years. With a view to retaining this benefit of continuity, we decided to adopt the first method -- that,is, we included in the sample the ten new families branching out from the original sample-families. Thus, in our subsequent study in 1952 the size of our sample became 106 farm operating families.

There were, however, some types of data which involved records in the past four or five years, such as harvested crop during 1948-52, accumulation of wealth, major receipts and expenses during the same period. In these cases we naturally used the continuing sample of 96 families.

*243 Composition of Farm Operating Families

162 Table 31 shows that the size of the farm operating
592 family decreased from 6.3 in 1948 to 5.7 in 1952. It also shows that, while the number of adults remained more or less constant, the decrease in the size of the family was due almost entirely to the decrease in the number of the young from 2.5 in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243 A possible explanation for this lies in the economic
162 consequence of the war. Strict government control of the
592 price of rice and of the internal movement of paddy during
• 182 the war and also in the immediate postwar period has so
178 adversely affected the economic condition of rice farmers
[582] that marriage has often been postponed. In cases where

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

243 marriage did take place, the couple were usually obliged
162 to stay with the parents of either the husband or the wife.
178 It is reasonable to believe that the nascent period was
592 prolonged during this period of hard times. Thus, the
182 family size tended to be larger than it normally is. This
[582] is especially true for rice farming families where there always is some work for members able to work. It is not surprising, then, that the average size of farm operating families in Bangchan was 6.3 in 1948 while the average size of all families was 5.7 according to the 1949 census. A steady rise in the price of paddy after the war has improved the economic condition of rice farmers. The increased income, however, had to be spent first on replacement of equipment and housing facilities which had been long overdue.
[792] Finally, the bumper crop of 1948 with an ever-increasing price put an end to farm misery, and the following dry season saw a record number of newly ordained priests and
[591] merit making activities. From then on proportionately more marriages took place and there were fewer economic obstacles to keep newly wed couples from starting out independently. The combined effect of termination of prolonged nascent period and freer establishment of new families was that the size of the farm operating family was considerably reduced.

16 It may seem strange that more marriages should bring about a drop in the number of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952. By the young is meant, however,

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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182 464 592 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic security, since they might arrange to join some families in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the principal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family, the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their families and thus had managed to prevent their level of living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence. As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by transient family workers.

243 178 463 621 [592] Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan

Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same period.

When the farm operating families were studied individually, it was found that 181 families had been operating their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating families during the period from 1949 to 1953.

262 family sit at the table while "with-rice" are placed at
264 the center and each person must partake of a small bit of these, just enough to properly go with a spoonful of rice taken each time. This table etiquette is generally observed throughout the country by all classes of people. A story had it that a Thai student of an aristocrat family wrote home objecting to the proposed marriage between his sister and one of his Thai friends in America. One count against the man was that he had been observed to have taken too much "with-rice" while dining out at a Chinese restaurant in New York!

511 Among the factors affecting variability of the rate
• 182 of consumption of various items of goods, the following may be mentioned:

261 a. Relative price of the food in relation to its
511 ability to mollify hunger when taken with rice. When Bangchan
182 farmers were questioned why they did not consume eggs produced at home but instead sold them and bought the inferior platoo fish (Rastrelliger chrysozonus), the answer was that an egg barely induced them to take a plate of rice whereas one platoo fish bought with half the money obtained from the sale of an egg could induce them to take three or four plates of rice and thus satisfying a hearty meal.

511 b. Homogeneity of quantitative need for certain
182 products like rice, fish, clothing, tobacco, and garlic. Consumption per consuming unit of these goods has been observed to be more or less constant regardless of the prices and the family's purchasing power.

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511 c. The family's purchasing power. Certain goods considered as luxuries -- medicine, eggs, pork and beef, and white sugar -- were not consumed by poor families.

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511 d. Individual taste and preference. The Moslems would not consume any pork although they had enough money to buy it. Some poor farmers spent more money on curry essence than their more affluent neighbors because they preferred highly flavored dishes, and some tobacco smokers did not spend a cent on tobacco binder because they preferred the home-grown banana leaf binder to the thatch leaf binder which had to be purchased.

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[184] e. Producing ability of the family. It was observed that those who caught more fish tended to consume more fish regardless of their financial conditions.

f. Health affected the consumption of medicine.

[431]
[476]
[554] g. Prestige affected the amount of cash contributions to neighbors.

h. Personal habits -- thrift, fun loving, indulgence, like or dislike of liquor -- affected the amount of personal expense.

i. Presence or absence of children of school age in the family affected the consumption of cookies.

Special Expenses

511 By special expenses we mean major items of expenses which do not occur regularly but which may arise in one time or another. Examples: purchases of land, gold and